

604 The maternal uncle (*nobo*) has no real authority over the
 602 child, and his ceremonial obligations towards it are somewhat vague. However, there exists a cordial relationship between the two, and the *nobo* is treated with respect as a relative of importance. It is worth remarking that an Orokaiva child, while belonging to the people of its father, is very ready to identify itself also with those of its mother. When living with the latter and helping the maternal uncle in his work the child feels itself to belong for the time being to the maternal clan. At such a time it will use the maternal plant emblem, and indeed at all times it will name that emblem as subsidiary to the one it inherits from its father. In short, where the child, who belongs indisputably to its father's clan, is still on such friendly and intimate footing with its mother's, we might say that the system, although patrilineal in theory, was almost bilateral in effect.

- 861 Regarding the actual control of children we may note that they are seldom struck or smacked even in anger, and that they are never chastised by way of correction. A scolding seems always sufficient to check a naughty child. On the whole parents are very tolerant and children well-behaved.

From Childhood to Manhood

844 *Childbirth and Infancy.* In childbirth a woman is attended normally by women alone, though male 'doctors' may be called in to assist, not so much directly as by massaging, punching the back, and blowing into the ears of the woman in labour. The cord is tied, but I have no information as to its disposal. The afterbirth is treated by various alternative methods, some of which are thought to affect the mother subsequently. It may be placed in a small receptacle built in a tree where it is left to decompose; it may be buried (if at the butt of a coco-nut tree the roots would enclose or constrict it, and the result would be to render the mother barren in future); I have been told it may be given to a sow to eat, 'when it is supposed to effect a transfer of fecundity from the women to the pig'. In some cases a small enclosure is built underneath the house expressly to prevent the pig gaining access to the afterbirth, which is allowed to fall

MORALITY

319

517
476
rushing to the scene. On the whole we may say that the Orokaiva seldom fails in this duty of helping the members of his group.

A passive virtue, yet one which possibly ranks first in Orokaiva estimation, is that of *good temper*. I find no specific term for it, but the good-tempered man is called simply *javo-embo*, or 'good man'. A squabbler, a vituperator, or a bully is strongly disliked, and since it is these very propensities—even that of mere vituperation—which bring credit to a man when he directs them against the outsider, we see at once a contrast between intra-group and extra-group morality. A man of anger is *tumo-buso*, which could be said to mean literally 'liverish', but which in actuality implies something more fiery than mere crabbiness. A man is *jajumo-buso* if he is given to verbal quarrelling, and *embogi-buso* if he be an actual brawler. Such a one was Buninia, who some fifteen years ago was a noted warrior among the Aiga. With his great size and prowess a fierce temper combined to make him almost a terror to the neighbourhood. As a warrior he was named as particularly *sarika*; but his offensives were not always directed towards the legitimate enemy. He had stolen pigs and fought with neighbours in near-by villages, so that he is nowadays remembered as a strong man but a bad one. But usually there is very little that resembles bullying in a native village. To force a man to do one's will by personal violence is a thing that hardly enters the native's mind; and when a fisticuffs occur—which in fact is seldom—one ventures to believe it is only in the heat of anger. Between husband and wife it is somewhat different: a man may thrash a neglectful spouse in order to give her a better idea of her duties, though the corrective aspect is probably not very prominent when a man is belabouring his woman in a rage. All informants have agreed upon the justifiability of wife-beating, but they have all agreed that there are proper limits, and an habitual wife-beater has a bad name. I have seen children smacked, but never chastised, and would venture to say that when children are beaten it is only in anger and not with any cool intention of punishing them or improving them. I remem-

517
157
183
[578]
[593]
[861] •

423 climb for nuts. (2) The *beri* is a strip of bark or a liana tied
 201 to uprights and encircling a house or some forbidden
 577 ground. (3) A *baribari* is some object, usually leaf or twig,
 placed in the cleft of a split stick and set up, e.g., at the
 mouth of a creek as a sign of a fishing right. (4) *Inja* is
 simply a few handfuls of grass laid across a track to bar the
 passage. We might include (5) the *naterari* and *pamha*
 (p. 226), which serve to mark a village tabu on the coco-
 nuts, and (6) logically enough the ordinary garden boundary,
tani, which consists merely of a series of tree-trunks or
 branches laid on the ground between adjacent plots. These
 are all regarded quite strictly: no man would step over an
inja or take a short cut across an area enclosed by a *beri*.
 Less regular marks which may serve as reminders for some
 casual rule are observed with equal stringency. For in-
 stance, I have seen an eight of diamonds wedged in a split
 [524] stick and set up in a village to forbid the playing of cards;
 it had been erected by a man of influence who has somehow
 acquired conscientious scruples regarding the forbidden
 game. The sanctions for the strict observance of these
 marks will be discussed presently; the signs themselves are
 described here merely to show the existence of tangible safe-
 guards, principally, but not always, of the law of property.

Education

• 861 We have discussed at length the theoretical standard or
 ideal of morality; but performance naturally falls short of
 the ideal, and we have now to consider the means by which
 Orokaiva society seeks to prevent that falling-short. It is
 not necessary to dwell upon the customary sanction, which
 is as obvious here as in other primitive societies. Suffice it
 to say that the almost automatic obedience of the native to
 the customs of his people and his almost unfailing concu-
 rrence in social desires go a long way to account for the law-
 abidingness which we have seen to be characteristic of the
 Orokaiva group. Nor is it necessary to treat at length of
 direct training as a means of ensuring morality, viz. the
 means of education. Education in the broader sense of the
 word is as much a means toward morality with natives as

MORALITY

325

with ourselves; but it is difficult at the primitive stage to separate it from custom; for of education in the narrower sense, viz. that of formal training, there is practically none except for the rather scanty instructions given at the *otobu* ceremony. A native's education consists in the gradual and effortless assimilation of the customs and manners of his people; and there is no school save that of daily contact with his elders, whose example is merely the reproduction of a previous example set to them. 861 ●

Absence of Central Authority

Our interest centres rather upon the indirect means of ensuring morality, i.e. upon the means of preventing shortcomings or offences; and here our subject becomes more than ever mixed up with that of primitive law. We shall do well to bear in mind the distinction between criminal and civil offences, though no attempt will be made to deal with them separately in respect of their sanctions. In an Orokaiva group the former, viz. those of an individual against the group as a whole, seem to be relatively uncommon, and this because the individual's interests are so bound up with those of his group that he does not very often find himself at variance with his fellows. As examples, however, one may quote the breach of a coco-nut tabu, the defilement of a water-supply, the betrayal of a raiding party, and malicious weather-magic, all of which are cases that have come to my notice. Civil offences, on the other hand, are common, though, as I have implied before, it is a question whether theft, adultery, assault, &c., are more prevalent in Orokaiva society than in our own. 671

But how are these offences prevented, or how punished? It will be understood that there is no such thing as a central authority to enforce the law. Orokaiva chieftainship (to risk the use of the word) is of the most elementary kind (p. 104), and certainly involves no power of inflicting punishment, nor even any means of maintaining order except by the exercise of purely personal influence. I have heard of a man of importance—and the Orokaiva 'chief' is really no more than that—who interfered to prevent his son from beating 672

SOCIAL CONTROL AMONGST THE OROKAIVA

113

child's teeth tickled her in their tentative exploring. All these mothers laughed at the infants, with comments signifying, "He is not content to drink my milk; he wants to eat me, too."

When the baby learns to walk, even if he is still unsteady on his feet, he ceases to be *meni orosati* and is known as *meni isapa* until he is about eight or nine years old. He stays at home with his older siblings while his mother goes to the garden, but she does not stay there all day now. She leaves the village quite early in the morning and returns to prepare a midday meal. As soon as the child is able to walk with his mother without impeding her progress, he goes to the garden with her. As he grows older, he plays with the other children in the gardens and may help his mother a little. Children of two or three years eat solid foods, mainly taro, but they still suckle. If they hang around their mother, except to approach the breast, she scolds them and makes them go away. Sometimes, if she is busy or does not want to sit down, she refuses them the breast. They go to their father, who spends much of his time sitting on the ground talking with the other men. The father takes the child between his legs, delouses his head affectionately, and holds him in his arms. It is always to the father that the child, especially the male child, runs for comfort.

The *meni isapa*, particularly at the age of two or three years, are the butt of jokes from the grown men, who frighten them by making strange noises and lungeing threateningly in their direction then laughing loudly as they watch the children cry, register bewilderment and run to their fathers. When their initial terror is overcome, the children learn to laugh at their own fright. This happens continually, until the child learns not to be afraid, imitates the men's frightening noises and grins back at them cheekily. All this is accepted by the women, who make no attempt to shield their children from experiencing such frights. If the men are her kinfolk, or friends of her husband or brother, the mother will join in with their raucous laughter. If they are strangers, she will take no notice of the incident. This frightening of small boys (*meni isapa*) is deliberate. Sometimes little girls are frightened incidentally at the same time, but no one takes much notice of this. Men do not go out of their way to frighten the little girls.

From about nine years till initiation at fifteen or sixteen, the child is known as *meni dombo*, or "big boy" (female, *meni kakara dombo*). I know very little about the *meni dombo*, either male or female. Married women among the Orokaiva are alarmed by the behaviour of the *meni kakara dombo*, who approach men casually to demand cigarettes and to talk freely about sexual matters in a joking way. This suggests that parents probably exercised more control in former times over the older children.

In Orokaiva childhood there are at least two conflict situations. At teething, the infant learns that he must not bite the mother's breast. Biting is accorded the immediate punishment of physical blows and unfeeling laughter at the child's expense. A three years old boy wanted to suckle and was kept waiting by his mother, who told him that she was busy and that he was getting too old to suckle anyway. He retaliated by biting her breast, but she hit him, scolded him and chased him away,